WAR SPECIAL

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57 Reasons the War Sucks

1 Has anyone thought about the peculiar logic behind NATO's "peace mission" in Kosovo? They dragged the warring parties to some two-bit pastry shop called Rambouillet, held a gun to their heads, and said, "If you don't sign our peace deal and allow us to protect ethnic group #1, then we're going to bomb and kill ethnic group #2!" After arm-twisting the Albanians into signing a deal that they didn't believe in, we carried out our threat. We bombed the Serbs on behalf of the Albanians, assuming, like Dr. Evil, that everything would go to plan. No contingency planning at all. For example, no plan on how to counter the obvious and natural reaction of the Serbs to take all of their Tomahawk-inspired fury out on a totally defenseless Kosovar population. NATO's reply? "They were going to do it anyway." In fact, CIA leaks show that Clinton was warned that bombing could spark mass ethnic cleansing.

2 It wouldn't have seemed possible a few months ago, but this war has given Russia the opportunity to seize the moral high ground on the world stage. When the Serbs refused to give in, the West increased the ferocity of the air attacks, killing over 1,000 civilians thus far. In other words, we're doing what the Russians did in Chechnya, but whereas the West kept conspicuously quiet about the Russian mass slaughter, the Russian government and people have been shocked and vocally outraged by NATO's "barbaric aggression".

3 Trying to bring the Serbs to heel by making them suffer won't work; these people have too much practice at suffering. After their army was slaughtered by the Turks at the Battle of Kosovo Field in 1389, things started getting a little bit rough for the Serbs. Though many Serb uprisings were brutally suppressed, the Serbs slowly drove the Turks out, eventually "liberating" Kosovo in a series of blood-drenched battles. In 1914, the Serbs were overrun by the Central Powers.The Serbs lost one-fourth of their population during the war; two-thirds of its male population between the ages of 15 and 55 perished. World War Two was even worse. After being overrun by a Nazi blitzkrieg, the Serbs found themselves at the mercy of the Nazis' Croat puppet regime, the Ustashe, who killed over a million people in death camps so horrible they repelled even the SS. Meanwhile, the Serbs somehow managed to pin down eight divisions of Nazi infantry, the Italians, a Bosnian Muslim SS Division—and wage a bitter civil war against fellow Serbs. In all, one-fourth of the Serb population died during WW II. Toss in a respectable number of dead Serbs since the wars in Croatia and Bosnia started earlier this decade, and you get the idea: bombing will not scare these people.

4 Why do American troops have to go in at all? Why should kids from Ohio and New Mexico have to die in Kosovo? Kosovo is part of Europe, and every one of the big Western European countries has a huge, expensive army.

5 Even the Secretary of State isn't sure what we're doing in Yugoslavia. Madeleine Albright said that NATO just wanted to "Send Milosevic a message". When a pool reporter pointed out that she had earlier said that the NATO goal was to STOP Milosevic, she hesitated and said, "That, too."

6 The Serbs were behaving with relative restraint in Kosovo (by Balkan standards) until we started bombing Serbia. Then they decided they had nothing to lose, and

(**57 Reasons** *continued on page 5*)

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Our Little Secret

"Two-Bit Pricks"

Let's eavesdrop on a commander-in-chief, brooding on the great themes of war and death: "'We're not inflicting pain on these fuckers' [The President] said softly at first. 'When people kill us, they should be killed in greater numbers.' Then, with his face reddening, his voice rising and his fist pounding his thigh 'I believe in killing people who try to hurt you, and I can't believe we're being pushed around by these two-bit pricks.'"

LBJ at the time of the Tonkin Gulf resolution? Nixon during the Christmas bombing of Haiphong? No. This was Bill Clinton, as recalled by George Stephanopoulos in his recent memoir, privately ranting at the time US "humanitarian" intervention in Somalia was falling apart, back in 1993. In other words, the first post cold war president's instinctive reaction to challenge from a foreign adversary, however diminutive, is exactly the same as those of commanders-in-chief in the years of the cold war, who walked noisily and flourished big sticks.

Maybe some corner of Clinton's brain reckons that bombs on Serbia will extinguish Monica Lewinsky from popular memory. But what man of mature judgment and compassion would not prefer to be remembered by the Starr report than by bomb craters and dead bodies? Many people thought Clinton was the first president who somehow would prefer Starr's volume as his epitaph, however embarrassing. But no. Like all the others, he wants bomb craters as his requiem.

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"It appears that one bomb was seduced off the target." ***Seduced?***

Welcome To Our Pages

Mark Ames and Matt Taibbi who here author 57 Reasons, put out a biweekly in Moscow called the eXile (www.exile.ru), part *vade mecum* to post-communist Moscow nights, part savage onslaught on myths about "reform" put out by Western journalists, think-tankers and US Treasury officials. NATO's onslaught on Serbia is a war where reality lopes past satire like a cheetah past a beagle, which is why we turn to Ames and Taibbi, who write with pens sharpened by the criminal surreality of Moscow.

Seducing Smart Bombs

Shortly after two of NATO's laser-guided smart bombs struck a train killing 10 civilians, Gen. Wesley Clark said that he regretted the incident but vouched that this "was the most collateral damage free air campaign in history." A few days earlier NATO's British flack, Air Commodore David Wilby, responded to evidence that a neighborhood in Pristina had been destroyed by NATO missiles by saying that "One bomb appeared to be seduced off the target at the final stages". *Seduced?*

Of course, one way to say you've minimized collateral damage is to simply attack civilian targets, which appears to the strategy in Yugoslavia. One report estimates that more than 65 percent of the sites on NATO's target list were part of Yugoslavia's civilian infrastructure, bridges, roads, power plants, oil refineries, electricity lines, natural gas pipelines, railways, telephone facilities, television and radio stations, Yugo car factories, Army hospitals, electronics factories and the like. "All legitimate targets", Clark says.

Sen. John McCain's campaign theme is "lights out in Belgrade". NATO has strived to make this happen, repeatedly hitting coal-fired power plants, Belgrade's central heating facility, hydroelectric plants and electricity generation stations and transmission lines. It's unclear whether Yugoslavia's two research nuclear reactors are on the target list. But the environmental damage from strikes on oil refineries (the Pancevo plant alone had more than 200,000 barrels of crude oil on site when it was destroyed) and pipelines already rivals the Exxon Valdez spill.

The less-than-advertised accuracy of US and British smart-bombs was revealed after the Gulf War, when it was shown that most of the bombs (costing upwards of $80,000 a pop) missed their mark. US Air Command claims a higher success rate in the Yugoslav mission, boasting that 80 percent of the bombs had hit their intended targets. Far less no doubt, but even so what about the rest? Those missiles are landing on schools, hospitals, neighborhoods and, in at least one case, a maternity ward. For example, on April 6, NATO bombs overshot a Serb military barracks and destroyed a neighborhood in the village of Aleksinac, killing 17 people. On April 9, a military hospital in the resort town of Tornic was struck by more than a dozen missiles, destroying a children's recreational facility, and an out-patient clinic. Three civilians were killed in the Tornic attack. By April 14, the civilian death count from NATO bombing had exceeded 1,000, including an attack on a convoy of farm trucks, wagons and tractors on a road in Kosovo that killed more than 75 Albanian refugees.

British Harrier jets, initially equipped with new "low collateral damage ordnance", were unable to drop their payloads during the first week of the air war because of overcast skies and, in mounting frustration, switched back to conventional bombs, whose technology hasn't changed much since the bombing of Dresden. "You've got to have eyes on the ground to get these damn things to hit their targets," said Sir Charles Guthrie, Britain's Chief of Staff for Defense.

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LIBERALS LOVE THIS WAR

They've been cooking ever since the mid-90s saw the laptop bombardiers shouting for bombs to fall on Serbs. Anthony Lewis and the others all cheered when in 1995 Franjo Tudjman sent his "freedom train" into the Krajina, where Serbs had been living for centuries, driving out hundreds of thousands of them in the largest single ethnic cleansing in the Balkans since World War Two, in part supervised by the US Ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, and by US military and CIA officers.

The pro-Hitler Tudjman ordered tanks to knock down a monument to the Serbs who died fighting Hitler and bellowed coarsely that the Serbian refugees had left so fast "they didn't have time to take their dirty hard currency and their dirty underwear".

More on the liberals' war. We hear that early in the bombing Stanley Sheinbaum, Democratic Party panjandrum in Los Angeles, hosted a dinner party where the diners—Geoff Cowan and his wife, New York Times journalist Todd Purdum and DeeDee Myers, all hailed the bombs. The most conspicuous dissenter was UCLA Chancellor Carnesdale.

Hardened to the war madness, we were still nonplussed to see the Center for Defense Information, a relatively decent non-profit in Washington, issue support for the bombs. The reason? CDI has a new boss, Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, most recently in the public eye defending Bill Clinton in the impeachment proceedings. The CDI staff should lock out the bellicose Bumpers till he comes to his senses.

FATALLY FLAWED

"My year long experience as the Force Commander and Head of Mission of the United Nations Forces deployed in the former Yugoslavia has given me an understanding of the fatal flaws of US/NATO policies in the troubled region."

Thus writes Lt. Gen. Satish Nambiar, an Indian who was First Force Commander and Head of Mission of the United Nations Forces deployed in the former Yugoslavia from March 1992 to March 1993.

"Portraying the Serbs as evil and everybody else as good was not only counterproductive but also dishonest According to my experience all sides were guilty but only the Serbs would admit that they were no angels while the others would insist that they were.

"It is ironic that the Dayton Agreement on Bosnia was not fundamentally different from the Lisbon Plan drawn up by Portuguese Foreign Minister Cuteiero and British representative Lord Carrington to which all three sides had agreed before any killings had taken place, or even the Vance/Owen Plan which Karadzic was willing to sign. One of the main problems was that there was an unwillingness on the part of the American administration to concede that Serbs had legitimate grievances and rights.

"I felt that Yugoslavia was a media generated tragedy. The Western media see international crises in black and white, sensationalizing incidents for public consumption. From what I see now, all Serbs have been driven out of Croatia and the Muslim-Croat Federation, I believe almost 850,000 of them. And yet the focus is on

"Yugoslavia was a media generated tragedy. The media see international crises in black and white, sensationalizing incidents for public consumption."

500,000 Albanians (at last count) who have been driven out of Kosovo. Western policies have led to an ethnically pure Greater Croatia, and an ethnically pure Muslim statelet in Bosnia. Therefore, why not an ethnically pure Serbia? Failure to address these double standards has led to the current one.

"I do not believe the Belgrade government had prior intention of driving out all Albanians from Kosovo. It may have decided to implement Washington's own "Krajina Plan" only if NATO bombed , or these expulsions could spontaneous acts of revenge and retaliation by Serb forces in the field because of the bombing. The OSCE monitors were not doing too badly, and the Yugoslav government had, after all, indicated its willingness to abide by nearly all provisions of the Rambouillet 'Agreement' on aspects like cease-fire, greater autonomy to the Albanians, and so on. But they insisted that the status of Kosovo as part of Serbia was not negotiable, and they would not agree to station NATO forces on the soil of Yugoslavia. This is precisely what India would have done under the same circumstances. It was the West that proceeded to escalate the situation into the current senseless bombing campaign that smacks more of hurt egos, revenge and retaliation. NATO's massive bombing intended to terrorize Serbia into submission appears no different from the morality of the actions of the Serb forces in Kosovo."

IS THERE A WAY OUT?

Of course. Republican Curt Weldon of Pennsylvania told the House on April 12 he had been in touch with friends in the Duma who suggest that Russia could persuade Milosovic to honor the Rambouillet agreements on the condition that an international peacekeeping force in Kosovo does not contain people from those forces now bombing Serbia. Such troops could come from Poland, the Netherlands, Greece, Ireland and Russia.

On this matter of the US deliberately seeking confrontation and then bombing, Noam Chomsky cites an April 8 dispatch from the New York Times' Stephen Erlanger (who's been doing fine reporting from Belgrade) who wrote that "just before the bombing, the [Serbian Parliament] rejected NATO troops in Kosovo, it also supported the idea of a United Nations force to monitor a political settlement there". Chomsky comments that "if the report is true, then it provides very dramatic evidence of US intentions: like the bombing of Iraq in December, it is another brazen attack against the institutions of world order, since the Serbian parliament would be right and Washington wrong, on the alternatives of a UN vs. NATO force".

HUMANITARIAN ADOLF

Jules Lobel and Michael Ratner, of the Center for Constitutional Rights, point out that on September 23, 1938 Hitler wrote to Prime Minister Chamberlain that ethnic Germans in Czechoslovakia had been "tortured", that 120,000 had been "forced to flee the country", that the "security of more than 3,000,000 human beings was at stake", and that they had been "prevented from realizing also the right of nations to self-determination". Hitler was also laying the basis for humanitarian intervention; a claim to intervene militarily in a sovereign state because of claimed human rights abuses.

The Hitler precedent illustrates the mischief caused when countries assert humanitarian intervention as a pretext for acting in their own geopolitical interests and it sets a dangerous precedent for other governments to take the same tack. ■

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Vain, Pompous, Brown-Noser

Meet the Real General Clark

Anyone seeking to understand the bloody fiasco of the Serbian war need hardly look further than the person of the beribonned Supreme Allied Commander, General Wesley K. Clark. Politicians and journalists are generally according him a respectful hearing as he discourses on the "schedule" for the destruction of Serbia, tellingly embracing phrases favored by military bureaucrats such as "systematic" and "methodical". The reaction from former army subordinates is very different.

"The poster child for everything that is wrong with the GO (general officer) corps," exclaims one colonel, who has had occasion to observe Clark in action, citing, among other examples, his command of the 1st Cavalry Division at Fort Hood from 1992 to 1994.

While Clark's official Pentagon biography proclaims his triumph in "transitioning the Division into a rapidly deployable force" this officer describes the "1st Horse Division" as "easily the worst division I have ever seen in 25 years of doing this stuff."

"HIS WHOLE LIFE HAS BEEN SPENT MAINTAINING APPEARANCES."

Such strong reactions are common. A major in the 3rd Brigade of the 4th Infantry Division at Fort Carson, Colorado when Clark was in command there in the early 1980s described him as a man who "regards each and every one of his subordinates as a potential threat to his career".

While he regards his junior officers with watchful suspicion, he customarily accords the lower ranks little more than arrogant contempt. A veteran of Clark's tenure at Fort Hood recalls the general's "massive tantrum because the privates and sergeants and wives in the crowded (canteen) checkout lines didn't jump out of the way fast enough to let him through".

Clark's demeanor to those above is, of course, very different, a mode of behavior that has earned him rich dividends over the years. Thus, early in 1994, he was a candidate for promotion from two to three star general. Only one hurdle remained — a war game exercise known as the Battle Command Training Program in which Clark would have to maneuver his division against an opposing force. The commander of the opposing force, or "OPFOR" was known for the military skill with which he routinely demolished opponents.

"NOW CLARK'S FACED WITH A REALITY HE CAN'T CONTROL."

But Clark's patrons on high were determined that no such humiliation should be visited on their favorite. Prior to the exercise therefore, strict orders came down that the battle should go Clark's way. Accordingly, the OPFOR was reduced in strength by half, thus enabling Clark, despite deploying tactics of signal ineptitude, to triumph. His third star came down a few weeks later.

Battle exercises and war games are of course meant to test the fighting skills of commanders and troops. The army's most important venue for such training is the National Training Center at Fort Irwin, California, where Clark commanded from October 1989 to October 1991 and where his men derisively nicknamed him "Section Leader Six" for his obsessive micro-management.

At the NTC, army units face a resident OPFOR that has, through constant battle practice coupled with innovative tactics and close knowledge of the terrain, become adept at routing the visiting "Blue Force" opponents. For Clark, this naturally posed a problem. Not only were his men using unconventional tactics, they were also humiliating Blue Force generals who might nurture resentment against the NTC commander and thus discommode his career at some future date. To the disgust of the junior OPFOR officers Clark therefore frequently fought to lose, sending his men on suicidal attacks in order that the Blue Forces should go home happy and owing debts of gratitude to their obliging foe.

All observers agree that Clark has always displayed an obsessive concern with the perquisites and appurtenances of rank. Ever since he acceded to the Nato command post, the entourage with which he travels has accordingly grown to gargantuan proportions to the point where even civilians are beginning to comment. A Senate aide recalls his appearances to testify, prior to which aides scurry about the room adjusting lights, polishing his chair, testing the microphone etc prior to the precisely timed and choreographed moment when the Supreme Allied Commander Europe makes his entrance.

"We are state of the art pomposity and arrogance up here," remarks the aide. "So when a witness displays those traits so egregiously that even the senators notice, you know we're in trouble." His NATO subordinates call him, not with affection, "the Supreme Being".

"Clark is smart," concludes one who has monitored his career. "But his whole life has been spent manipulating appearances (e.g. the doctored OPFOR exercise) in the interests of his career. Now he is faced with a reality he can't control." This observer concludes that, confronted with the wily Slobodan and other unavoidable variables of war, Clark will soon come unglued. "Watch the carpets at NATO HQ for teeth marks." ■

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(**57 Reasons** *continued from page 1*)

started driving Albanians out in earnest. Wasn't this what we were trying to prevent?

7 After the Gulf War, the US had everybody believing in air power again. The bombing of Serbia is going to destroy that belief. The USAF trains in Nevada, and the less a landscape resembles Nevada, the less effective American air power. Iraq looks just like Nevada; Kosovo looks more like Vietnam.

8 These endless comparisons of thugs like Milosevic to Adolf Hitler insult the public's intelligence and cheapen the special, awful legacy of WWII. Before America started calling Milosevic a new Hitler, it used the same tactic to demonize everyone from Saddam Hussein to Manuel Noriega to Osama bin Laden to the Ayatollah Khomeini to Fidel Castro. Gore Vidal put it this way: "The CIA's demonizing process is fascinating, swift, unvarying. Each demon admires Hitler. Keeps a copy of Mein Kampf beside his bed." Hitler killed six million Jews; he made lampshades out of little children; he tried to take over the entire world. Milosevic is a monster, but he's not close to a record like that. Comparing Milosevic to Hitler proves that the U.S. government no longer trusts its citizens to make real moral distinctions.

9 In 1941, the Nazi puppet state of Croatia wanted to solve the Serb Question once and for all... not by mass expulsions, but by extermination. Out of 6.3 million people in the new Croat state, there were 1.9 million Serbs. Official documents show that the Ustashe government planned to exterminate or convert every one of them. Within weeks after the Nazi takeover, Croats set to massacring Serbs in a variety of ways, including a documented favorite trick: throwing Serb mothers with their children off cliffs, by the hundreds. By mid-1941, even the Germans started complaining. Here is a quote from an SS report: "The Ustashe units have carried out their atrocities not only against male Orthodox of military age, but in particular in the most bestial fashion against unarmed old men, women and children..." The Croats set up several concentration camps, including the infamous Jasenovac death camp, which is to Serbs what Auschwitz is to Jews. This camp is notorious not just because hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies were killed there (Serbs claim a million Serbs were killed at Jasenovac), but because of the way they were killed: butchered with knives, like pigs. In all, the Serbs are said to have lost some one million people just to Croat death camps and massacres. If it is unthinkable that the Bundeswehr could be called in to bomb Tel Aviv in order to force the Jews to sign a peace agreement with the Palestinians, then why can we order German bombers to attack Belgrade with a clear conscience?

10 Serbs are now comparing NATO to the Nazis. Here's why. The Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia in April, 1941, began with the relentless bombardment of Belgrade, flattening most of the city before a ground invasion by troops from Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria. Three of those four are now NATO members. Modern German bombers, ominously sporting iron cross Luftwaffe markings, are targeting Serb cities. And now, once again, Germans, Italians and Hungarians are preparing to invade.

11 The Gulf War left Western armies looking good. Kosovo is going to make us look very bad. Like the Israelis, the Americans and their allies in the Gulf War built a reputation fighting pitiful Arab conscripts who, as Sam Kinison said, would've surrendered to a video camera. ("Give up or I'll zoom!") Serbs are not Iraqis. They believe in their cause, know how to fight, and can operate in small units. Western armies don't do well against this sort of opponent.

12 The parallels of this conflict to World War I are so obvious, it's amazing that the West has chosen to ignore them. In 1914, a major European power (Austria-Hungary) declared war on Serbia after it refused to acquiesce to its demands; a group of similarly powerful nations bound by alliances (Britain, Russia) then decided to back Serbia; and in a flash, millions of people were dying all over Europe. Wasn't the whole point of that chapter in the history textbook to teach kids how not to start a World War—to learn to back off when a minor regional conflict threatens to escalate into an irreversible global nightmare?

13 How many Americans could find Kosovo on a map of the world? There should be entrance exams for warmongers.

14 The owner of the single biggest pro-war propaganda organ in the world, Ted Turner, is married harmoniously to Jane Fonda, who thirty years ago was running around in khaki shorts publicly embracing the Viet Cong. Apparently being a liberal means not having to say you're sorry, so long as your civilian bombing victims are white and taller than you are.

15 Journalists love wars. Even the most vacuous, uninspired accountant can wrap himself up in other people's tragedy and suddenly acquire depth. This is what happened in Bosnia. And it'll happen in Kosovo too, guaranteed. The Bosnian war nurtured some of the worst, most maudlin, dishonest "war journalism" of all time. We quote: "Tragedy and absurdity were moons circling the Bosnian war." (Peter Maas, Love Thy Neighbor).

16 Nuke Alert! Russian General Anatoly Kvashnin, Yeltsin's Chief of Staff, announced that Russia was prepared to use tactical nuclear weapons to stop NATO aggression.

17 NATO is unilaterally scrapping the ABM treaty, enlarging NATO so as to completely surround and isolate Russia,

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and now ruthlessly bombing Russia's oldest historical ally and slaughtering its citizens. It would be as if a victorious Soviet Union were to bomb London and destroy its bridges because they didn't allow Warsaw Pact troops to occupy Ulster. All this might explain why, over the past few months, the number of Russians who believe that they should fear a NATO attack has soared to 63 percent, up from the low twenties just a few months ago, according to a poll recently conducted by the Russian Center for Public Opinion.

18 So far, we've made Milosevic, whose popularity was shaky at best, into a national hero, an achievement which stands exactly counter to our stated objective.

19 If ethnic massacres bother us so much, why didn't we send troops to stop the massacre of a half-million Tutsi in Rwanda? Why did we back the Russian bloodbath in Chechnya? Why did the US defend Pol Pot when the Vietnamese interrupted his autogenocide? What's happening in Kosovo is a parking-lot scuffle compared to these horrors, so why are we going in?

20 The Albanian partisan group we're promoting, the Kosovar Liberation Army, has been identified by several sources as a mafia-backed gang of heroin dealers. According to a March 24 article in the Times of London, "police forces in three Western European countries, together with Europol, the European police authority, are separately investigating growing evidence that drug money is funding the KLA's leap from obscurity to power". Police sources in Germany have made plain their suspicions: the sudden ascendancy of Kosovan Albanians in the heroin trade in Switzerland, Germany and Scandinavia coincides with the sudden growth of the KLA from a ragamuffin peasants' army two years ago to a 30,000-strong force equipped with grenade launchers, anti-tank weapons and AK47s.

21 The KLA seeks total independence for Kosovo from Serbia, and the creation of a Greater Albania incorporating parts of Montenegro and Macedonia. NATO is firmly opposed to that, pushing instead for Kosovar autonomy. Nearly every nation in the Balkans, from NATO ally Greece to Bulgaria, Rumania and Macedonia, also opposes any change in borders. However, the bombing and subsequent ethnic cleansing means that today, you couldn't find a single Albanian who would support our position on Kosovar autonomy within Serbia. Which is to say, we are opposed to the ultimate goal of the people we're ostensibly protecting, and closer to the position of the people whom we're bombing.

22 Every commentator agrees that the dangerous rise of far-right wing parties in Western Europe this decade coincides with refugee influxes. NATO was warned in-advance that its bombing could ignite a massive refugee flight. Now we've got refugees by the buckets, and quasi-fascist politicians like Jean-Marie Le Pen and Joerg Haider will only grow in power and popularity. In other words, NATO bombing of this supposed Hitler in Belgrade could help real Hitler devotees come to power.

23 The U.S. knowingly destroyed the biggest maternity ward in all of the Balkans. On April 3, Clinton and NATO, clearly frustrated at the ineffectuality of their surgical-strike air campaign, decided to get nasty by sending three cruise missiles into the Yugoslav and Serbian Interior Ministry buildings. Those buildings had long since been emptied—ever since Tito, Yugoslavia's basic war plan is based on decentralized partisan warfare—but there was a huge maternity ward full of people just 30 meters away. Now, think about it. It was no secret that a maternity ward was located next door to the target. It was no secret that the target had been emptied long before the strike. Kinda muddies up that whole moral high ground thing a little, doesn't it?

24 Last Tuesday, Bill Clinton give the entire world still one more visually compelling and obvious reason to loathe America when, at the very moment American bombs and missiles were raining down on Serb civilians at his order, he took the afternoon off to play golf. Then, as if that wasn't enough, some Americans saw fit to portray the Balkan war as a tiresome interruption in the President's golfing schedule. The Washington Post phrased it this way: "The president tried to return to a more normal schedule, playing golf in Virginia and preparing for two domestic [i.e., real] events Tuesday."

25 Name one Albanian!

26 If we lose this war, there will be Oliver Stone films about damaged vets, with collagen-lipped stars crying on Os-

When Bombing First Bombed

It is fitting that the current debacle of the air war aganst Serbia should come almost exactly eighty years after the first ever attempt to defeat an enemy from the air. At the end of World War I, Great Britain was engaged in an decades-old campaign against the "Mad Mullah", a nationalist leader in what was then British Somaliland on the horn of Africa. By early 1919 the local British forces on the ground, thanks to a painstakingly constructed intelligence network coupled with the deployment of troops mounted on camels, were confident that they had their elusive antagonist on the run.

Suddenly however, the newly created Royal Air Force announced that bombers directed from London could succeed where the army had hitherto failed. A small force of planes was duly dispatched to the scene. Their operations, as Hastings Ismay, the British commander on the ground (subsequently Churchill's chief of staff in World II and later Nato's first Secretary General) later wrote, made a "very slender contribution" to the success of the campaign, which did not of course prevent the RAF subsequently claiming total credit for the victory gained by Ismay and his camel corps. The bombs, even when they hit the target, merely caused the mullah's followers to move to better protected quarters and fight on. Not least among the later boasts of the bomber lobby was that their bombing had utterly demoralised the enemy. Ismay noted dryly that he attacked the mullah's main stronghold immediately after it had been heavily bombed and found "no traces of demoralisation among the garrison. On the contrary, they were cheerful, utterly defiant, and grossly slanderous about my parentage."

As the history of Operation Allied Force makes clear, absolutely nothing has changed in the meantime.

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NATO [ie., US] generals are now studying Hitler's ground invasion plan for Serbia, codenamed Operation Punishment.

car Night as they vault to the stage to cop their award for playing paraplegic survivors. If we win, there'll be Chuck Norris movies where "Serbian" extras in fake moustaches get mowed down by a one-man American army. Even Stallone could return. Rambo in Kosovo—can we risk that?

27 If we're doing this to score some points with the Islamic world, why invade Kosovo, which means nothing to Muslims? Why not liberate Jerusalem and blast the Israelis off the Dome of the Rock?

28 After a brief shift toward reason earlier this decade, when Americans slashed their defense budget in the wake of the Cold War victory and elected a President who at least made an attempt to pass health insurance legislation, the defense budget is rising again, while the percentage of Americans covered by health insurance continues to decrease.

29 In 1809, the Turks built a tower in the town of Nis. It was made of the skulls of Serbs who had tried to rebel. The Turks first skinned and stuffed the heads as souvenirs, then used 1,000 skulls for the tower. This kind of thing has happened to the Serbs rather often. Remember it when you judge them.

30 Some more perspective on the American perception of unilateral Serbian aggression: In 1915, during World War I, the Serbian army, having been overrun by a combined Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian and German force, was forced to retreat through Kosovo. Over a quarter of a million Serb troops and refugees, weak from cold and hunger, passed through Albanian village after village, and they weren't exactly treated to Gatorade and crushed ice. An eyewitness account, published in 1920, records: "The Albanians killed those who had become isolated, chopping their heads off with axe blows. Then they seized the uniform of the dead man and, disguised as Serbian soldiers so as to allay any suspicion, they killed other unhappy men by luring them into ambushes." Of the quarter million soldiers and refugees on the run through Kosovo, over half died.

31 The Brits. You know they couldn't care less about the Albanians. They're just tagging along for the chance to hurt somebody, like the smallest, meanest guy in a gang. And since their toy Harrier jets—expensive, useless '70's military exotica—can't handle guided weapons, they're loading them with cluster bombs, the cheapest, fastest way to maim large numbers of people indiscriminately.

32 The Greens Party of Germany has long been famous for its pacifism— until this war. Today, the Greens Party is part of the coalition that rules Germany. The Green's platform had been total demilitarization and a withdrawal from NATO. When Green leader Joschka Fischer was named Foreign Minister, he decided, aw, to hell with it! Although he insists he's still a pacifist, he wholeheartedly backs the Luftwaffe's bombing of Belgrade. Fischer has sold out in every way possible. He no longer opposes nuclear power, no longer wants to tax energy, no longer wants to lower the speed limit to 100km/hr... hell, he doesn't dress casual anymore, proudly trading in his trademark sneakers and leather jacket for brogan wingtips and a pinstripe suit.

33 Javier Solana, elected NATO Secretary-General in 1996, was the leader of a 1980s movement protesting Spain's entrance into NATO.

34 NATO committed a series of rhetorical blasphemies to drum up support for the action. Here's one word they shouldn't have used, but did: Genocide. (n) The systematic, planned extermination of a racial or ethnic group. (Greek: genos, race + -CIDE, Latin: caedere, to kill). On March 2, British Defense Minister George Robertson said: "We are confronting a regime which is intent on genocide", while German Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping said on the same day that the Serbs were committing a genocide. Folks, in a genocide, you don't let a single refugee go. You kill every single one of them, either out of hatred or because you fear they might come back some day. The Serbs don't qualify. Just so we don't forget, "genocide" means to kill everyone in a race. The Serbs are doing something else: savagely expelling a hostile ethnic group from territory it claims as its own. There are many precedents for this.

35 NATO's bombing violates both the UN charter and NATO treaty itself. Article 2, section 7 of the UN Charter expressly forbids UN intervention "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state...." Both the United States and NATO are signatories to the UN Charter and bound by it under international law. By bombing Serbia without first getting Security Council approval, NATO broke the law. Making them war criminals. Not that we expect NATO to try itself in the Hague.

36 Every Serb has a rifle and knows how to use it. Serbs were trained in guerrilla warfare all through the Tito years, and there are bunkers, arms caches and shelters hidden all over Serbia. If NATO invades and occupies Serbia, the trouble will just be starting.

37 The Kosovo attack has revealed America to be a country in a cultural abyss. Nothing means much at all to Americans. But there are some things that mean everything in the world to the Serbs. And it shows. Consider this poem about Kosovo, written by King Nikola late last century:

Over there, o'er there, beyond those hills,
Where the heavens bend the blue sky,
Toward Serb fields, toward martial fields,
Over there, brothers, let's prepare to go!
Over there, o'er there, beyond those hills,
One can find they say, Milos's tomb...
Over there!... My soul will receive its rest
When the Serb no longer will be a slave.

Contrast this to the one song most associated with American tragedy: the inevitable captured soldier's family house, trees in the front yard adorned with yellow ribbons. Join hands and soak in the hallowed verse of Tony Orlando & Dawn:

Tie a yellow ribbon round the old oak tree
If you still want me
It's been 10 long years, if you still want me
If I don't see a yellow ribbon
around the old oak tree
I'll stay on the bus
Forget about us

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Clinton will use the Balkan conflict as the justification for a series of new "security" or "anti-terrorist" bills.

Put the blame on me
If I don't see that yellow ribbon
Ro-o-o-und that o-o-old oak tree!

38 The world hates America more than ever, as evidenced by a spontaneous series of anti-American demonstrations on a scale not seen since the seventies. Here's a small list of all the anti-American demonstrations since March 24. Formerly Western-leaning Montenegro last weekend brought out 30,000 demonstrators, or 5% of the republic's population, to rally against NATO and for Serbia. Skopje, capital of Macedonia, was the scene of violent demonstrations on the first night of the bombing. Demonstrators burned vehicles and tried storming the embassy, forcing US ambassador Chrisopher Hill to hide in the basement. Riot troops broke it up. Security has since been beefed up by the addition of Macedonian police, 40 Marines and an American anti-terrorist squad. On April 1, over 10,000 people demonstrated in Paris calling for a return to the peace talks. Patras, Greece saw 4,000 people chanting anti-U.S. and anti-NATO slogans, and in Prague, 300 Czech and Serb residents demonstrated against the air strikes. On March 31, some 2,500 Serbs demonstrated in the Slovenian capital Ljubljana against NATO air strikes; approximately 3,000 people demonstrated in front of the U.S. Information Center in Podgorica, Montenegro, denouncing both the U.S. and the Montenegrin governments. Some 5,000 people pelted the U.S. consulate in Greece's second largest city, Thessaloniki, with stones, firecrackers, and eggs on the evening of March 29, in protest of NATO air strikes in Yugoslavia. It follows other major demonstrations last week in Athens and on March 28 outside the U.S. military base on Crete. On March 27, several thousand people, mostly supporters of the reformed Communist party, PDS, demonstrated against NATO in Berlin. About 700-1,300 people demonstrated in The Hague and some of them were arrested for throwing rocks at the German embassy. In Italy, several thousand people participated in demonstrations in Milan and Rome. Also, about a thousand demonstrators demolished the U.S. embassy in Cyprus. In Romanian Timosoara, about 1,100 people, mostly Romanian Serbs demonstrated. Not to mention Moscow.

39 There is no compelling economic interest at stake for the United States in the Balkan conflict. Do you know anyone who bought a Yugo?

40 The Clinton administration, as it has done several times in the last few years, will almost certainly use the Balkan conflict as the justification for a series of ambitious new "security" or "anti-terrorist" bills which will further scale back and threaten domestic civil rights. A counterterrorism bill passed in 1996 already enhances the Federal government's fight against arbitrarily-designated foreign "terrorist" organizations by allowing the government to bar entry to any alien they say is associated with a terrorist group. Furthermore, in a provision which directly counters the individual American citizen's constitutional protection against the doctrine of guilt by association, the bill gives federal law enforcement officials the right to wiretap, search, perform surveillance upon, even prosecute as accessories any American shown to have supported any of the terrorist organizations on its list. It is worth noting, incidentally, that Nelson Mandela's ANC was designated as a terrorist organization by the U.S. government. Meanwhile, this year, on January 25, the Clinton administration said it would be sending to congress a broad new antiterrorist bill that would create a domestic military "commandante"—we're not making this up—under whom soldiers would serve in a role combating domestic terrorism. If it passes, this new anti-terrorism bill would repeal the Posse Comitatus act of 1878, which decreed that the government may not deploy members of the military as a domestic cops.

41 Kosovo was the cradle of Serb civilization before it was cleansed by Turk invaders who dispersed the Kosovo Serbs throughout the Balkans. While the Albanians have been a majority for quite some time, it hasn't come without its spells of mass ethnic cleansing of Serbs. In 1941, after the Italians took control of Greater Albania, the Kosovo Albanians immediately set about slaughtering Serbs, forcing the Italians to intervene. It is estimated that 100,000 Serbs fled their homes in Kosovo in 1941 alone. Also, the Albanians have the highest birth rate of any people in Europe, while the Serbs seem to have been slaughtered at a greater rate than any people. This might help explain the ethnic imbalance between the two in what is claimed to be Serbia's heartland.

42 The KLA are diehard Marxist-Leninists who have been linked to Osama bin Laden, the terrorist we launched two ineffective missile attacks to stop. A January 21 article in the French newspaper Liberation claims that KLA frontman Adem Demaci is an unabashed disciple of Mao, and that the KLA leaders are all deep admirers of the late Albanian dictator Enver Hoxha. Furthermore, in almost the only instance of American reporting on the KLA, the March 28 edition of The New York Times wrote that the KLA was "originally made up of diehard Marxist-Leninists, as well as by descendants of the fascist militias raised by the Italians in World War II." The U.S. has fought two lengthy shooting wars and one 45-year Cold War to contain communism; now we're fighting alongside them to depose a democratically-elected leader.

43 It sounds like an old issue, but it's still valid: the United States Constitution prohibits the use of military force without a 2/3 majority vote in both houses of congress, except in cases of emergency. That Presidents have in this half of this century done so in Korea, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, Panama, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Sudan, among others, does not make it right or even legal. As congressman Tom Campbell (R-CA), a former Stanford law professor, said last week in voicing his objections to yet another "undeclared" war: "Previous constitutional violations do not justify subsequent ones."

43 Despite its moral posturings about Serb ethnic cleansing, NATO itself has provided air cover for the same kinds of atrocities it now accuses the Serbs of committing. In 1995, NATO planes, responding to what many now suspect was a Bosnian-government-staged massacre of Muslim civilians, attacked the Bosnian Serb army with punishing air assaults. At

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THE WAR LOBBY'S BACK IN BUSINESS

Who says war is not good for business? Twelve major defense and communications corporations, including Boeing, TRW, United Technologies and Motorola, are sponsoring the upcoming Nato 50th anniversary party in Washington to the tune of $250,000 each, in exchange for which CEOs will be able to hob nob with visiting heads of state and defense chiefs to tout their wares. Though the events have been planned for months, the present conflict has only increased the eagerness of the corporate paymasters. According to Jim Christy of the TRW Corporation, the summit was low on the radar of most companies just a couple of months ago, when the events committee made its first solicitations. But the fighting in Yugoslavia has focused attention on the gathering. "All of a sudden," he told the Washington Post, " this is beginning to burnish a little into the consciousness."

Boeing, the manufacturer of the US cruise missiles, is already gearing up its production lines for a new batch. With more than 600 missiles being lobbed on Iraq and Serbia in the last twelve months, the American arsenal has dipped below 2,000 for the first time since the Gulf War. In the meantime, the company has offered to "reconfigure" a few hundred nuclear-tipped cruise missiles with "conventional" warheads. The price-tag for this redesign: $564,000 per missile.

the same time, a massive two-pronged ground assault was unleashed on the Serbs both from Croatia into Serb-populated Krajina and from the Muslim-Croat alliance into Serb-populated regions of central and west Bosnia. Nearly all of Croatia's 600,000 Serbs were brutally expelled, fulfilling Ante Pavelic's Ustashe dream. Several hundred thousand more Bosnian Serbs were uprooted in the Croat-Muslim offensive within Bosnia. Altogether, in a matter of weeks, up to a million Serbs were ethnically cleansed. No one knows how many died.

44 When President Clinton first asked Congress over three years ago to authorize sending American troops to Bosnia as part of SFOR peacekeeping troops, he promised they'd be home in six months. According to Rep. Ron Paul, "The years have passed, more than $20 billion has been spent, and our soldiers are still there. Very few seriously ask anymore when these troops are coming home - or even what it is they are supposed to be accomplishing."

45 The war marks the return of liberal warmongers. You thought they became extinct in 1968, but you were wrong. NATO head Javiar Solana was a Marxist, Socialist and anti-NATO demonstrator up to the mid-80s; Tony Blair leads the Labor Party; Clinton dodged the draft; Gerhard Schroeder is a Socialist, and his Foreign Minister a Greens Party sellout; French Premier Lionel Jospin is a Socialist; and Italian Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema heads the most left-wing government in Italian history. America has plenty of its own liberal war groupies, too. Ever on the hunt for an easily-defeatable Hitler to smash, America's liberals thought they'd found it in Milosevic. Now that the air war has failed, they're crying for a ground war.

46 Ask five people you know if they've heard how many Serbs have been killed or maimed so far in the bombing.

47 Then ask those same five people if they've seen the videotape of the three captured American POWs.

48 Bill Clinton reportedly said "We can't lose this one" at a White House policy meeting a few nights into the bombing, providing an ugly insight into the extent to which Americans view the entire world, and their role in it, as a sports contest. This is just one more reason why the rest of the world has gradually come to hate America's guts—because military action is a game for Americans, who have nothing but their careers on the line, while for people in other countries this is a life-or-death situation. How do you think people in these countries like to see Clinton fretting about losing "this one"?

48 In the sixties, Martin Luther King, Jr. told blacks to oppose U.S. involvement in Vietnam because it was a war whose human cost was being disproportionally paid by the poor, i.e. by them. The same will be true if the U.S. commits to a ground war in Serbia, but the American black leadership apparently isn't what it used to be in terms of watching out for its own. Jesse Jackson, expressing his unequivocal support of The Man, said last week that the risk of American lives was acceptable because "the military is meant to be used".

49 Why haven't Nobel Peace laureates Elie Wiesel, Nelson Mandela, Yassir Arafat, Desmond Tutu, and the rest spoken out more volubly against this war? For that matter, where are one-joke acts like Bob Geldof? Sally Struthers? Yoko Ono? If nothing else, this war has proven that it's passe to be a peacenik. At the California State Democratic Convention-the traditional Mecca of America's most fervent peace/love hippie anti-war political activists, the home to the delegate contingent that throughout the 1960s picketed national party meetings with chants of "Stop the Bombing"—the solidly pro-Clinton proceedings were only interrupted once, by a single heckler, who shouted at Tipper Gore, "Bring them Home!" before being dragged away. As for the rest of the participants, they were mostly ex-hippies and ex-lefties who in the process of becoming establishment players in the 1990s had acquired a new fluency in the language of elitist cop-outs— and were on hand at the convention to show off their skills.

50 We'll get tired of the whole mess and leave—and when we do, the Albanians will suffer alone. There won't be a single photo of their suffering in the Western media, because they will be old news.

51 What's all this "we," anyway? Are you planning to join up in time to take part in the first wave of the attack on Kosovo? If not, then drop the "we" stuff.

52 Now that Ukraine and Belarus have been forced back into alliance with Russia, the three countries are talking about redeploying nuclear weapons which were withdrawn to Russia in Ukraine and Belarus.

53 Among all the announced and expected year 2000 U.S. presidential candidates, only Pat Buchanan and Dan Quayle are against this action. In this sense, the bombing proves how few real political choices Americans have. Not only can President Clinton commit troops without

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bothering to secure full congressional approval, he can do so without having to worry about dissent within his party obstructing Al Gore's path to the nomination.

54 There is a great deal of evidence that points to a preordained war strategy on the part of the Clinton Administration. An August 12, 1998 analysis by the U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee (RPC) noted that "planning for a U.S.-led NATO intervention in Kosovo is now largely in place.... The only missing element seems to be an event - with suitably vivid media coverage - that would make the intervention politically salable, in the same way that a dithering Administration finally decided on intervention in Bosnia in 1995 after a series of 'Serb mortar attacks' took the lives of dozens of civilians - attacks which, upon closer examination, may in fact have been the work of the Muslim regime in Sarajevo, the main beneficiary of the intervention. That Clinton is waiting for a similar 'trigger' in Kosovo is increasingly obvious," observed the RPC report. During the negotiations at Rambouillet, American negotiators very openly entreated the KLA representatives to just sign the damn agreement so that all the blame would be put on Serbia, and bombing could commence. The day after the war began, the London Telegraph reported that General Clark, NATO's supreme military commander, "received his activation order for hostilities last October....The supreme commander does not need new permission from politicians or diplomats whenever he wishes to change tactics, or increase or scale back operations."

55 The KLA may have duped the United States and Serbia both to serve its own Machiavellian domestic agenda.The guerrilla tactics of the KLA call for the terrorist group to kill enough enemies (in this case, ethnic Serbs) in order to trigger reprisals so terrible that life for the average Kosovar becomes unbearable, thereby radicalizing the situation. Now that the situation is suitably radicalized, KLA is now forcing, at gunpoint, male Kosovar refugees into service, according to an April 1 AP wire. The KLA is even forcing refugees in Albania and Macedonia into service. In other words, the U.S. bombing and the subsequent Serbian reprisals against Albanians have both perfectly served the KLA's domestic agenda, providing it with defenseless refugees to fatten its rolls. This is yet another example of why the "ethnic cleansing" issue is not as simple as the press would have you believe.

56 Despite all of the above, the U.S. hopes to increase the influence of the KLA. On March 26, the Global Intelligence Report claimed that "several foreign policy-makers, including Senators Mitch McConnell, R-Ky. and Joe Lieberman, D-Conn., are reportedly promoting the idea of increased support for the KLA." Yep, we sure know how to pick 'em.

57 The strength of the KLA would seem to belie President Clinton's claim that the Serbs planned to ethnically cleanse Kosovo this spring "all along anyway". The KLA only appeared in February of last year. They announced themselves by launching terrorist attacks on Serb police and villagers. By early-mid summer, some estimates were that the KLA had controlled up to two-thirds of Kosovo. The big powers only got involved when the Yugoslav forces retaliated and retook most of Kosovo, which is, after all, internationally recognized as an integral part of Yugoslavia. Furthermore, although the operation was by no means civilized, the number of casualties-roughly 800 dead total on both sides during last year's battles-was remarkably low compared to the opening months of the Bosnian war, when it's estimated by some that tens of thousands were slaughtered and raped. ■

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War Fever: Why They're Crazy

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